/778 cont./

619 554 Basically one tribal member is equal to every other socially and enjoys complete independence. All of them have about the same number of objects, little though this is, and there are no differences in property and economic pursuits which elsewhere sometimes cause very disparate social levels (211). In general,

> 211. This means, as Hyades (p):335 expresses himself: "There is no king, chieftain, aristocracy, castes, social hierarchy, or slaves; it is a regime of equality in the purest sense" /translated from French/.

therefore, every adult has the same rights within his tribe, and along with this they all have some duties. No one is specifically raised above the legal equality of the multitude by special privileges; they recognize neither one nor several headmen. One person or another may acquire a certain morally superior position within the narrow circle of relatives and acquaintances /779/ through richer experience after a long life and moral rectitude. His superiority, however, is solely a matter of personality and is neither precisely defined nor founded on objective legal norms.

[197] A division of the whole tribe into so-called dialect groups has occurred under the pressure of local conditions. It is purely external. The slight differences resulting from it are in line with the unavoidable pursuit of a livelihood by each independent group. The social order in which degrees of rank are unknown is just as simple as the economic structure (212).

> 212. The basic ideas of this section have already been published by Koppers (c):155.

a. Kinship

594 602 Yamana social organization rests on individual families (213).

> 213. Spegazzini (a):165 gives this fact in another form: "The family constitutes all their society" /translated from Spanish/.

/798 cont./

1. Its Structure

197 634 571 It is an inborn tendency of the Yamana to emphasize contrasts. These are certainly present in his homeland, and each person knows the characteristics of his local area, in fact, he must take them into account. We have mentioned in detail (p. 199 /untranslated/) that the entire Cape Horn Archipelago is geographically divided into five separate regions. As a result, there are an equal number of dialect groups living here (228).

228. Even the members of the Mission Scientifique did not agree uniformly about the individual ethnic groups. Hyades (j):148 is definitely at variance with the opinion of Hahn (b):1533, the ship's doctor. Compare the more specific boundaries in Gusinde (a): 1018.

Since time immemorial boundaries erected by Nature herself have been determined for each of these groups, and they have formed a dividing wall up to the last few decades. It is only recently that unfavorable forces have succeeded in breaking them down. Nevertheless, even today each of the few surviving Yamana boasts of his competence in this or that dialect district. No one knows who first marked this region /799/ and assigned the tribesmen to it. No myth says anything about it. They all readily accept given reality. It is well known that within his dialect district everyone enjoys complete independence and unrestricted freedom of movement. He has the same right to subsistence as his countryman.

609 634 Journeys into neighboring districts are undertaken for the special purposes of obtaining food or bartering for essential tools. No one remains away longer than is necessary. The people living in another district will permit a strange family to come in and provide themselves with whatever they need, but they do not tolerate anyone roaming about their territory an unnecessarily long time. If he should do so, it would cause hostility which could become serious, but as long as a stranded whale has not been completely consumed or as long as it is impossible to obtain

/1073 cont./

782 539

(7) Hĭ́ja čílla akigamáni Tánuwa asúnan
Me again hit the old one in the woods

lēkēskḗta; kḗndam hitaualašinánude?
my head; how I bear it?

[753] /1074/ In wandering through the woods a man was in danger of being killed by a falling tree trunk; again he once was lightly struck. This gave him such a shock that he developed a headache. He mentions the old-one-up-there as the cause of it. That is why his situation is particularly serious and he does not know how he will regain his mental balance. -- Most of the words used here are repeated in the following exclamation.

(8) Tánuwa hája cílla akigamaníta lēkēskḗta
The old one me again hit my head

asúnan kḗndam hitaualašinánude?
in the woods, how I bear it?

In content this saying does not differ from the preceding one and says the same thing, but it expresses more definitely and emphatically the intention of Watauinḗjwa to let the man be killed. -- Compare the verb akigámata, "to hit unintentionally, or by mistake" /cited in English/, in BD:15. BD:183 translates kóndĭm as: "such, so, in such a manner, in that way" /cited in English/. The word asúnan is evidently synonymous with ósunna, "forest, wood, jungle, thicket" /cited in English/, in BD:46.

(9) Watauinḗjwa čikája kḗlakanḗa sa-kumáju.
The old one you will take away [if] you lazy.

[867] This formula is one example of the precepts which are given the candidates in the youth initiation. It warns the uwála that the old-one-up-there does not tolerate a lazy person, but will let him die prematurely. -- The word kḗlakanḗa is related to kólenkóna, "to drive, shove, push away" /cited in English/, in BD:178, and to related forms.

782 197 Besides the formulas listed here the Yamana of former days used many others containing the same ideas, which now must be

/1074 cont./

regarded as lost. The few that were saved have unusual words and archaic sentence formations, showing their origin in the distant past. Even older persons were no longer able to give me an exact and detailed explanation of each formula, and they excused themselves by saying that such obsolete words and idioms were no longer used in everyday speech. It is therefore not surprising that old John Lawrence, as well as his sons who were versed in the language, was sometimes baffled by these sayings. The colloquial language of the present day is the result of considerable change since the time when the representatives of the individual dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/) were more crowded together and intermingled. Thus, although almost always only the basic idea of any given formula can be determined, all of them together furnish a sufficiently complete picture of the Supreme Being whose image our Yamana carry in their hearts and whose characteristics are familiar to them.

/1075/ c. Originality of the Yamana Religion

The above details taken from the religious heritage of the Yamana are not inconsiderable in number. All of them were brought to light only through my travels. These facts contradict the unanimous agreement of earlier travelers and of the missionaries, active for many years, who, so to speak, flatly deny that our Fuegians have any religious conception and religious activity. This sharp contradiction demands a reliable explanation, all the more so since the religious heritage of the Yamana not only proves rich, but also has a determining, guiding influence on the whole moral attitude of these Indians. It has been repeatedly pointed out, and must still be treated in detail, that all the moral obligations and the traditional customs are, after all, bound up with the Supreme Being.

By way of negative proof it can be convincingly shown that neither the navigators who lay at anchor for only hours or days in the Cape Horn region nor those Europeans who took individual Yamana to Europe with them offered actual religious instruction (16).

16. One may certainly assume that if Fitz-Roy,

/1082 cont./

775 human soul after death under the most disparate conditions imag-
797 inable, in sharp contrast to their own faith. I myself experienced
177 this. During a burial, while the corpse in the grave was being covered with earth, an old man, in the helplessness of his grief, turned to me with the following words which sounded very scornful: "There he lies, my cousin. And yet you Europeans say: 'Every corpse will leave its grave and become that which it was in life.' No, there is no such thing!" This man, like all his countrymen, was simply not to be converted to the new teachings of the missionaries; he clung to the traditions handed down by his forefathers. They always know how to make a sharp division between their own indigenous body of ideas and newly introduced, foreign conceptions or views.

776 Furthermore, a characteristic feature of the religious ideas of our Fuegians is their pronounced simplicity. The Supreme Being even lacks a proper name. Every Yamana is named after his /1083/ birthplace (p. 536). Is it not logical, therefore, that "the-one-up-there" has no such name because he was not born in the homeland of our Indians? Instead they use circumlocutions as ordinary social conventions. The names for the Supreme Being emphasize particular characteristics which are, however, intensified to the utmost. In both directions, therefore, tribal customs with regard to name-giving are transferred to him. If here below an aged person is shown general respect, all the more is this due the foremost and true "old one," Watauinéiwa. Similarly, the few remaining characteristics applied to him are part of the everyday events and social customs of the Yamana people. The fact remains, however, that he is a spirit and therefore exhibits forms of being that differ from people here on earth. Nothing specific is known about these forms. Truly, the Fuegian is consistent in his simple thinking, even concerning his deity.

782 Finally the considerable number and the diversity of their
● 197 prayer formulas must be noted. The archaic wording speaks for
797 itself. The Indians themselves vouch for the great age of these short sayings because they contain many words and word combinations that have long since disappeared from ordinary speech. In addition there is the opinion of the aged John Lawrence and his sons who were well versed in the language and several times expressed

/1083 cont./

782 themselves along the same lines. John Lawrence, after he had
•197 examined those formulas for the first time, assured me emphati-
797 cally: "I have been associated with the Yamana for all of 53 years and I never learned anything whatever about this!" He examined them carefully and said afterward: "Neither the names for the native deity nor the prayer formulas disclose any kind of borrowing from our Christian conceptions. Everything throughout has the stamp of the original and genuine heritage of the Yamana!" He felt it necessary to point out emphatically and repeatedly that the words and grammatical construction of the prayer formulas are not current in the language spoken today (24).

> 24. The opportunity is open to everyone to examine these data, for we have Bridges' dictionary and a number of grammatical studies from the pen of Hestermann. Bridges' translations of the New Testament could also be used for comparison.

776 Stimulated by this new information, John Lawrence made
797 personal investigations which added to the material. He began by asking general questions about Watauinẽiwa of this or that aged Indian, all of whom were friendly and confiding. Later when he discussed with other people the religious ideas and prayer formulas which were now familiar to him, he obtained the same result: "This heritage of ideas is an unadulterated, genuine, and unique possession of the /1084/ Yamana!" The whole discovery gave him sincere and lasting pleasure. He realized how much more favorably these greatly misunderstood Fuegians must be judged if they possess such a beautiful, pure conception of God and practice religion. In the twilight of its existence this much maligned people had the great satisfaction of knowing that now at last European circles will obtain full knowledge of this ancient Watauinẽiwa faith. John Lawrence expressed his admiration for the research work and frankly confessed: "Even if I could live here another 50 or 100 years, the natives would not give me the trust that you enjoy among them!"

797 He viewed his long years of mission work, which had ended earlier, in the light of this unexpected experience. He was honest

/1460 cont./

192 completely absorbed by no less urgent tasks. Serious consider-
114 tion should also be given to the fact that the language in use to-
day has been altered and corrupted as a result of the banding to-
gether of the last survivors of the five original dialect groups and
their contact with European culture. For example, their own
word for "nothing" has dropped out of use completely, and old
and young have substituted "nothing" /cited in English/ for it.
I was thus faced with the lamentable fact that at the beginning
of my journeys it was too late to record the pure, uncorrupted
linguistic heritage of the Yamana. However, I was still able to
determine the boundaries of the former dialect groups, as I
called them (p. 199 /untranslated/), and the phonetic system.
Compare Gusinde (s):1000.

197 This is not the place to describe in detail the more important
peculiarities of Yamana grammar. Nor need I repeat that in (hh):
183 I maintained that "the low stage of development of the lan-
guage is in perfect agreement with the whole mental constitution
of the Yamana as it is revealed in other areas. This does not in
the least cast any doubt on the fact that these Indians, judged by
their mental capacity, are fully mature human beings." For the
time being one must regard Yamana as an isolated language
which is not even closely related to neighboring Selk'nam and
Halakwulup. Comparative studies will show whether Yamana can
be related to the meager remains of a definite Chaco language.

193 Only the following characteristics of this language will
be mentioned. The root and the word are seldom the same.
Usually verb and noun are separated; this is less often true of ad-
jective and substantive in the noun, but always of the pronoun.
Word formation, as well as every other grammatical formation, oc-
curs through the use of actual prefixes and suffixes. Verbs and
nouns abound in formations. The richest of all is the pronoun;
on this account it has a prominent place among all the other lan-
guages of the world. Nouns are monosyllabic and polysyllabic, the
latter being always recognizable as compounds. Often prefix and
suffix occur in the same formation. There is no grammatical
gender, but number and case are all the more elaborate. The
noun has three numbers: singular, dual, and plural, the last two
being formed only with suffixes. The genitive is prominent.

/1460 cont./

193 The suffix added to the genitive, however, also occurs as objective case. The adjective changes in value by its mere position: if it precedes, it is /1461/ attributive; if it follows, it is predicative. The pronoun has a uniform root, but in form it differentiates verbal and personal, possessive and subjective. The diversity of all pronouns is surprisingly great, especially because designations of place are expressed in horizontal and vertical relationships and because the qualification "toward" as a prefix and "away from" as a suffix are joined with a single word (363).

> 363. It would lead too far afield to give examples of this; a good selection of them may be found in Hestermann (b), Bridges (k):235, and even more in Hyades (q):280.

The verb can be constructed from a nominal basis by numerous suffixes. Verbs can also be compounded and stand as coordinates. There are four conjugations according to the four different final vowels. The place variation of the noun as described above also extends in every respect to the entire verb. There are at least six different forms of verbal negation. As Hestermann declares, "the inflections briefly alluded to here, along with those affecting the noun, form a veritably inexhaustible phenomenon distinguished by consummate brevity of form as well as sensitive elegance. Yamana is a melodious type of Indian language, terse, rich, precise, and full of meaning." If, in this study, I •197 have several times mentioned dialect differences (p. 200 /untranslated/), I certainly did not mean substantial deviations between one group and another, but merely slight differences in words and appellations for the same thing, as well as in some sounds. These insignificant local peculiarities obviously do not constitute dialects in the strict sense of the word.

c. Artistic Sense

511 All the thoughts and endeavors of our water nomads on Cape Horn are directed toward the inescapable food quest. It almost completely absorbs the individual. Whatever remains of leisure

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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been a source of contention. Intelligent and amicably intended travelers through ignorance of native customs may easily wound native feelings to the point of rousing open hostility. Of the looting of ships and robbing of their crews, it is but just to remark that the Yahgan, although recognizing personal property, habitually shared their provisions with one another. Also, among primitive people in general the robbing or tricking of strangers often is considered entirely ethical or even especially deserving of praise, though the same performance at the expense of a relative or a friend might be condemned. The Yahgan have suffered in public esteem because their morality has been judged on the basis of Christian ethics.

Language

The Yahgan tongue, although it has been studied since the visit of Darwin, as yet is thought to be related to no other New World language. Through missionary labors, chiefly those of the Rev. Thomas Bridges, three large vocabularies have been compiled. Of these one containing about 4000 words on 137 pages in Mr. Bridges' handwriting is still in possession of the Bridges family in Tierra del Fuego. It covers only eleven initial letters. Inside the front cover is written: "Begun this June 19th, 1879." A second vocabulary compiled by Mr. Bridges, aided by several lay members of the English mission, contains about 12,000 words. It is now in possession of the Rev. John Williams in Puerto Arthur. Finally, there exists in Belgium a Yahgan vocabulary in two volumes of about 32,430 words written on 1081 pages. It is the result of Mr. Bridges' life-long contact with the Yahgan extending from 1856 until his death in 1898. During his later years, according to his sons, he was continually working over this manuscript. After his death it was lent to Dr. Frederick A. Cook, who had been to Tierra del Fuego with the Belgian Antarctic expedition in 1897 and 1899. Cook removed the manuscript to Belgium, where it has since remained. Plans for its publication were interrupted by the World War.

For printed source-material in Yahgan, students are further indebted to Mr. Bridges for translations of the gospels of St. Luke and St. John, and the Acts of the Apostles. All these, as well as his manuscript dictionaries, are written in the Ellis alphabet. The Rev. John Williams of Puerto Arthur has translated the collects and morning and evening prayers into Yahgan, and also has

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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114 published a broadsheet with the Lord's prayer. Both are written in the ordinary alphabet with a ˘ to denote the short vowels and soft g.

194 As for the nature of the Yahgan tongue, in direct contrast to Ona, it is soft and pleasant to the ear. There is a great abundance of vowel sounds, and the pronunciation of consonants presents no difficulties. The line between *p* and *b* is loosely drawn. There is a soft and a hard g, and also a soft *ch* sound (*q*).

197 According to Mr. Fred. Lawrence, of Remolino, generally regarded as the best living authority on the Yahgan language, in the old days there were five distinct dialects, distributed as follows:

1. Central dialect, including Ushuaia and Murray narrows. This is the speech recorded in the Bridges dictionaries.
2. Eastern dialect, spoken from Harberton eastward and on Lennox island, New island, etc.
3. Western dialect, found from Cape Divide westward.
4. Wollaston Islands dialect.
5. New Year's Sound dialect, spoken to the south and west of False Cape Horn and on the southern part of Hoste island.

These dialects are said to have differed from one another as much as Scotch from Cockney; that is to say, they were mutually intelligible but there was wide variation in accent and the choice of words. Thus the double-barbed harpoon is *wuñi* in the west and *wek* in the east; the fish-spear is *wáduuio* in the east and *akuakréya* in the central dialect; bark of the *Nothofagus betuloides* is *aíirsku* in the east and *afírkus* at Ushuaia; a sling is *matérud* in the east and *watérud* in the central dialect, etc. Today it is difficult to know just what dialect one is hearing, because the few surviving Yahgan live together much of the time and have fused their speech. However, the fact that considerable divergence once existed within such a small geographical limit indicates that but little movement of the tribe as a whole had taken place for centuries, at least.

115 The Yahgan words in the present text were obtained chiefly from Mr. William Bridges and Mr. Fred. Lawrence, who speak the central dialect; from William, born at Halupai (see fig. 98); from Walter, a Lennox islander; from Charley, son of a Haush called Inidh and a Yahgan woman; from Mary, a westerner. The four Indians mentioned were all mission-reared and therefore today

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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type, because several other specimens have been published by Bove (1883) and Hyades (1891). The general shape of these points is similar to that of modern Ona arrowpoints and ancient stone points from eastern Tierra del Fuego. Yahgan workmanship, on the whole, is cruder than Ona, and to the writer's knowledge no points have been found on the south coast equal to the delicate blade illustrated in fig. 40.

4. Hammerstones, Anvils, Grease Stones.—Every Yahgan family carried an oval water-worn stone which was used for a variety of purposes, such as hammering. These stones (fig. 70) may be picked up at every ancient camp-site.

5. Bone Tools.—Bone tools of modern type sometimes are found in shellheaps under conditions implying considerable antiquity.

Age of Archeological Remains

The age of the archeological remains on Beagle channel is a problem that has intrigued the writer from the moment of his arrival there, and every effort was made to collect data for its solution. *It should be frankly stated at the outset of this discussion* that there is no exact answer, but it is nevertheless possible to deduce an approximate figure. There are several methods by which the problem may be attacked; thus we shall discuss (1) the variations in Yahgan speech, (2) known historical movements in other parts of South America, (3) the internal evidence of age in Fuegian shellheaps, and finally (4) their probable rate of accumulation.

1. Antiquity of the Yahgan Dialects

As explained above, the Yahgan spoke five distinct though mutually intelligible dialects. This is rather surprising because (a) they were a roving people occupying only a small territory, (b) they were exogamous, and (c) the total population was only about 3000 individuals. Assuming, as seems probable, that the Yahgan reached Tierra del Fuego more or less as a unit speaking a single tongue, how long did it take them to modify their language in five distinct ways?

In the more civilized parts of the world linguistic change also has taken place, and, because language is not only spoken but written, the archaic forms are preserved and can be studied. For instance, the breaking up of Latin into the modern Romance

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languages, mutually intelligible only to a very slight extent, can be observed and checked in various stages. In this instance the Latin tongue was grafted on the native speech of various conquered peoples, who undoubtedly pronounced it from the beginning with local flavor so that the separation into dialects began at the outset, its course being retarded by the educated classes. Latin, however, was spoken over a very wide area with relatively poor communications, hence there existed every facility for rapid linguistic change.

The contrast between this condition and that of the Yahgan is obvious. We should not expect the Yahgan dialects to differ nearly so much in a given time as the Romance tongues. In fact, granted the circumstance, it is surprising that there were any Yahgan dialects at all. The very presence of these Yahgan dialects shows that the tribe had remained stationary as a whole for a great many centuries at least.

2. CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

The Yahgan are the southernmost unit of a group of primitive fisherfolk who at various times have lived on the west coast of South America. In southern Peru this fishing population was displaced by the rise of the typically Peruvian agriculturists who later built the great structures seen in ruins today on that coast. While there is yet no exact chronology for Peruvian archeology, the two leading authorities, Tello[1] and Uhle,[2] agree that this event must have materialized at least 2000 years ago in order to explain the known stratigraphy of Peruvian remains.

It is a far cry from Peru to Tierra del Fuego, but in the displacement of the Peruvian coastal population there is an ostensible cause for the general shunting to the south of all the coastal peoples. If, as we shall presently show, Fuegian camp-sites give evidence of occupancy at that remote period, then we may at least tentatively consider that the displacement of the Peruvian fisherman and the settlement of Fuegia are correlated, because this change of population in Peru is the only remote migration in South America which archeology has definitely yielded to the realm of history.

In Chile there seems to have taken place a similar displacement of the early population by the Araucanian tribes. Stratigraphical

[1] Julio C. Tello, Introducción á la Historia Antigua del Perú, Lima, 1921.
[2] Max Uhle, Los Principios de las Antiguas Civilizaciones Peruanas; Boletín de la Sociedad Sudamericana de Estudios Históricos Americanos, IV, no. 11, Quito, 1910.